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WAR INFORMATION SERIES

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THE WAR FOR PEACE

THE PRESENT WAR AS VIEWED BY FRIENDS OF PEACE

COMPILED BY

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"Between a worthy War-patriotism and a virile Peace-patriotism there is no essential difference."—(Louis F. Post, in *The Public*, December 14, 1917.)

"Now that we are in the War the shortest way out is Forward."—David Starr Jordan.

I. The American Peace Society

The American Peace Society is America's oldest peace organization—dating back to 1815, definitely organized in 1828, and incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts in 1848. It enrolled among its officers and members a large proportion of the men who built up the ideals and institutions of our nineteenth century period. Since 1911, its headquarters have been in Washington, D. C. It publishes a monthly magazine, the *Advocate of Peace*, which has been published regularly for eighty years. The present officers of the Society are: President, Hon. James L. Slayden, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.; Secretary, Arthur Deerin Call, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.; Treasurer, George W. White, President National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.; Vice-Presidents, Jackson H. Ralston, Washington, D. C.; Theodore E. Burton, New York City; Andrew Carnegie, New York City; William Jennings Bryan, Lincoln, Neb.; William H. Taft, New Haven, Conn.

The leading editorial in the *Advocate of Peace* for December, 1917, follows:

WIN AND END THE WAR

This is no time for darkening counsel by words. Since it is true that in time of irreconcilable conflict in welfares the lesser must succumb to the greater; since it is true that we are now faced with an irreconcilable conflict between the will to might of the German Government and the will to right of the United States; since we believe it to be true that there is therefore an irreconcilable conflict between the welfare of kings and the welfare of peoples; since it is true, as we believe, that a triumphant Germany would now destroy every hope we have for a world governed by justice, and that what we mean by civilization is therefore hanging at this hour in the balance; since it is true that our country is, by the vote of our representatives duly elected, at war with the Imperial German Government that that civilization may be; since it is true that our boys are now by the thousands on the firing lines of France and that they are already dying there for us; since it is true that our lawfully created representatives are, at our bidding, bending every effort to bring the German Government to terms and to end the destruction; since these things are true, terribly true, this certainly is no time for a loyalty of squinting constructions, or for behavior of a doubtful sort on the part of any one within the United States. Now of all times in our history is the time for confining ourselves "within the modest limits of order."

We must believe in law. Without law there is chaos. Law is the instrument by which the majority, individually weak and right-minded, control the few individually aggressive and criminal. Where there is no law, might and cunning prevail. Laws are rules of conduct which we are all morally bound to obey. If we will to live within the United States we by that act tacitly agree to obey the laws of the United States.

If we give "aid and comfort" to Germany in these times, we disobey the most fundamental law of our land. When our chosen leaders are, in accordance with the law, bending every effort to bring the German Government to terms, for any of us to harass these our representatives in authority is to stir up the dust, befog the issues, prolong the horror, give encouragement to Germany, do violence to law, and toy with treason.

We state these elementary principles here, not because we are interested in principles merely, but because many radical persons, commonly called "pacifists," ignore these principles to the embarrassing detriment of the very thing they and we believe in and would advance. The so-called *People's Council* is made up largely of just such deluded persons. What has been known for a time as the *American Union Against Militarism* has, we are informed, changed its name to *American Union for a Democratic Peace*, and its members are now evidently applying essentially the same obscurantist and disturbing methods as the *People's Council*. These perfectly sincere "radicals" are raising the dust, getting nowhere, bringing upon themselves the contempt of healthy-minded men, and by their stupid proceedings rendering a serious injury to the cause of international peace. For any body of intelligent persons to organize themselves and to say as a body at this time, "We are utterly opposed to the extension of militarism in this country," would be laughable were it not so counter to the law as it is, treasonable in substance and tragical. The job of the hour has nothing to do with "annexations," "indemnities," "economic reprisals," unofficial "German peace proposals." To blur our thinking with such matters at this time is to distort our perspective, to give comfort to our enemies, and to prolong the war. **The supreme duty of every man, woman, and child in America today is, avoiding panics and hatreds of persons, to remember the ghastly offenses**

of a might-worshipping aggressor, and to bend every possible effort to win and to end this war.

When they ask us of this Society, as frequently they do, how we can "support war with one hand and peace with the other," we reply by pointing to our well-nigh hundred years of consistent effort in behalf of a reign of law. We cannot now turn against the only law we have left. We must and will support the only machinery we have for the maintenance of that law, namely, the United States Government. If some member of the *People's Council* pathetically asks us, as one recently did, "Who, then, is to represent the people?" our reply must be that we can recognize but one "representative of the people" today, and that is not the *People's Council*, but the *Government* duly elected and sworn to do precisely that thing.

At eighteen minutes past one o'clock, Friday, April 6, 1917, something happened in the world. On that day and hour the President of the United States signed a resolution which had been passed by both houses of the Congress, a resolution which officially declared the state of war which had been thrust upon this country. This momentous act altered completely the bases upon which we fashioned our daily behavior prior to that action. It seems difficult for many to grasp this fact, but it is a fact which must be grasped. With the situation as it is, there can be no governed world of the kind that rational men would have. Judicial processes are at the time internationally impossible. The methods of peaceable settlement must wait, because there in the way of these things stands the Imperial German Government. To go back now would be disastrous. The only way to the attainment of our aims is forward. Law, justice, common sense, the world peace we purpose to establish, all call now for a perfect unity of opinion and purpose, a call which should and must be heard by us all, whether we are members of this or that "group" or of no group at all. The clarion, unmistakable call to us all is, that we must now **end this war by winning it.**

The following extracts are from editorials in the issue for January, 1918:

. . . "The voices of humanity," to which the President referred in his message of December 4, are against such conquests as they are against the cut-throat theory of economic warfare typified by the proposals of the Economic Congress in Paris.

It is true that "the voices of humanity" are in the air. It is true that "they grow daily more audible, more articulate, more persuasive, and they come from the hearts of men everywhere. They insist that the war shall not end in vindictive action of any kind; that no nation or people shall be robbed or punished because the irresponsible rulers of a single country have themselves done deep and abominable wrong." It is this thought that has been expressed in the formula, "no accessions, no contributions, no punitive indemnities." The attempt to end the war by accessions and punitive indemnities would not end the war, but prolong the war, or at least establish a temporary peace which would be but the forerunner of another and probably more terrible war. . . .

. . . **We cannot win this war by any inconclusive, fragile, or patched-up peace.** The peace of exultation of the strong over the weak, of exploitation and of revenge, of mere compromise, of secret diplomacy or intrigue, of a subjection of small nations against their will, of greed and selfishness, or of any dicker with German war-lords would be no peace at all.

It is certain that we of America are now at war with the Imperial German Government and with Austria-Hungary. **All our resources are at the command of the Government, and we purpose to end this war by winning it.** No one can mistake the military outcome. We shall bring the Imperial German Government to terms. Of this there is no doubt whatsoever. But all this could be done and the war in reality be lost. A nominal military victory can easily be turned into a defeat gruesome and calamitous. But if we clarify our principles and become "debased by no selfish ambition of conquest or spoilation"; if we keep prominently before us our "principles of humanity and of knightly honor"; if we refuse to take part in "intrigue"; if we keep always in mind not only the welfare of ourselves but of our enemies; if we view our cause as just and holy and make it both; if we crystallize our thinking upon the ancient rights and duties of nations, . . . we as a nation shall rise to our opportunity, to the clear heights of God's "own justice and mercy," and win the war indeed.

II. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was founded by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, December 14, 1910. Mr. Carnegie created a Board of Trustees to whom he transferred $10,000,000, the revenue of which is administered for hastening the abolition of international war. The Trustees for 1917 were: President, Elihu Root; Vice-President, the late Joseph H. Choate; Secretary, James Brown Scott; Treasurer, Charlemagne Tower; Assistant Treasurer, Andrew J. Montague; Robert Bacon, Robert S. Brookings, Thomas Burke, Nicholas Murray Butler, Cleveland H. Dodge, Charles W. Eliot, Arthur William Foster, John W. Foster, Austen G. Fox, Robert A. Franks, George Gray, William M. Howard, Samuel Mather, George W. Perkins, Henry S. Pritchett, Jacob G. Schmidlapp, James L. Slayden, Oscar S. Straus, Charles L. Taylor, Andrew D. White, John Sharp Williams, Robert S. Woodward. James Brown Scott, Secretary of the Endowment, is now serving the Government in the capacity of Major and Judge Advocate, United States Reserves in Active Service, and has been detailed to the office of Provost-Marshal General Crowder.

The following minute is self-explanatory:

Information has reached this country that a persistent propaganda is in progress in Germany, to the effect that under the stimulus and direction of peace organizations in the United States a widespread movement for immediate peace is going on here. In view of this information, the Executive Committee of the Carnegie Endowment, at a meeting in New York on November 1st [1917], unanimously adopted the following resolution, which was subsequently cabled to all the countries of the world:

"The Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, assembled in annual meeting at Washington, D. C., on April 19-20 last, adopted the following resolution by unanimous vote:

> *Resolved*, That the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, assembled for their annual meeting, declare hereby their belief that the most effectual means of promoting durable international peace is to prosecute the war against the Imperial German Government to final victory for democracy, in accordance with the policy declared by the President of the United States.

"In view of recent events, emphasized by the widespread intrigues of the German Government to deceive and mislead the peace-loving people of the world, the Executive Committee of the Peace Endowment unanimously reaffirms this declaration and **pledges the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to the loyal support of those courses of action that will assure early, complete, and final victory for the arms of the Allied forces.** The path to durable international peace, on which the liberty-loving nations of the world would so gladly enter, is now blocked by the blind reliance of Germany upon the invincibility of German military power and upon its effectiveness as an instrument of international policy. This reliance must be broken before any other effective steps can be taken to secure international peace. It can only be broken by defeat.

"The Executive Committee of the Carnegie Endowment call upon all lovers of peace to assist in every possible way in the effective prosecution of the war which has peace and not conquest for its aim."

III. League to Enforce Peace

The League to Enforce Peace was organized in Philadelphia, June 17, 1915. It proposes that a League of Nations be created at the end of the present war for the purpose of setting up a Judicial Tribunal and a Council of Conciliation, and of using jointly economic and military force against any nation belonging to the League that goes to war without first placing the questions involved either before the Court or Council of Conciliation. It proposes, finally, that Conferences shall be held from time to time for the purpose of formulating and codifying rules of international law. The headquarters of the League are at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Its officers are: William H. Taft, President; Alton B. Parker, Vice-President; Herbert S. Houston, Treasurer; William H. Short, Secretary; Irwin Smith, Assistant Secretary and Treasurer; Executive Committee, A. Lawrence Lowell, Chairman; Hamilton Holt, Theodore Marburg, Edward A. Filene, Vice-Chairmen.

The League's relation to the present war has been set forth officially as follows:

The League to Enforce Peace is committed in advance to the support of the war against Prussian Militarism. In June, 1915, it put forth a series of proposals advocating a permanent League of Nations, pledged to joint military action against an aggressive nation that refused to submit its dispute to arbitration. This policy the League has been urging steadily ever since. The United States has now become a member of what Secretary of War Baker has called "a league to enforce peace with justice." **We are engaged with our allies in precisely the kind of a war the League's program holds to be both justifiable and necessary.** Having advanced the principle of joint action against an aggressor, the League is bound to throw its moral support behind the war, and to give it all the material support that its widespread and powerful organization can contribute. An organization so committed cannot do other than to insist that the war shall continue until Prussian Militarism is destroyed, either by Allied force or by the uprising of a German democracy, and a league of nations is established as a guaranty of permanent peace.

The supreme task before the country is that of conserving its life and institutions by winning the war against Prussian Militarism. Equally necessary to the interests of humanity is the preventing in the future of just such assaults on the rights

and liberties of the world as Germany is now making, thus rendering it virtually impossible for such a catastrophe as the present war to overwhelm us again.

The President of the League, Hon. William H. Taft, writes:

England, France, Russia, Italy, and now the United States, as Allies, are engaged in **the greatest war of history to secure permanent world peace.** With twenty or more millions of men at the colors, with losses in dead, wounded, and captured of more than twenty-five per cent, with debts piling mountain-high and reaching many, many billions, they are fighting for a definite purpose, and that is the defeat of German militarism.

If the Prussian military caste retains its power to control the military and foreign policy of Germany after the war, peace will not be permanent, and war will begin again when the chauvinistic advisers of the Hohenzollern dynasty deem a conquest and victory possible.

The Allies have made a stupendous effort and have strained their utmost capacity. Unready for the war, they have concentrated their energy in preparation. In this important respect they have defeated the plan of Germany "in shining armor" to crush her enemies in their unreadiness.

But the war has not been won. Germany is in possession of Belgium and part of northern France. She holds Serbia and Roumania, Poland and the Baltic Provinces of Russia. **Peace now, even though it be made on the basis of the restoration of the status quo, "without indemnities and without annexations," would be a failure to achieve the great purpose for which the Allies have made heartrending sacrifice.** Armaments would continue for the next war, and this war would have been fought in vain. The millions of lives lost and the hundreds of billions' worth of the product of men's labor, would be wasted.

He who proposes peace now, therefore, either does not see the stake for which the Allies are fighting, or wishes the German military autocracy still to control the destinies of all of us as to peace or war. Those who favor permanent world peace must oppose with might and main the proposals for peace at this juncture in the war.

The Allies are fighting for a principle the maintenance of which

affects the future of civilization. If they do not achieve it they have sacrificed the flower of their youth and mortgaged their future for a century, and all for nothing.

This is not a war in which the stake is territory or the sphere of influence of one nation over another. **The Allies cannot concede peace until they conquer it. When they do so, it will be permanent. Otherwise they fail.**

There are wars like that between Japan and Russia, in which President Roosevelt properly and successfully intervened to bring about a peace that helped the parties to a settlement. The principle at stake and the power and territory were of such a character that a settlement might be made substantially permanent. But the present issue is like that in our Civil War, which was whether the Union was to be preserved and the cancer of slavery was to be cut out. Peace proposals to President Lincoln were quite as numerous as those of to-day, and were moved by quite as high motives. But there was no compromise possible. Slavery and disunion either lost or won. So today the great moral object of the war must be achieved or defeated.

IV. The American School Peace League

The headquarters of the American School Peace League are in Boston, and its officers for 1916-17 were: Honorary president, William Howard Taft; president, Randall J. Condon, Superintendent of Schools, Cincinnati, Ohio; treasurer, William W. Andrew, Superintendent of Schools, Salem, Mass.; secretary, Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews; vice-presidents—David Starr Jordan, Philander P. Claxton, James H. Van Sickle, William H. Maxwell, Ben Blewett, Charles E. Chadsey, F. E. Spaulding, Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, Miss Mary E. Woolley, Endicott Peabody, Miss Jane Addams, S. C. Mitchell, Miss Ellen C. Sabin, Mrs. Josephine C. Preston, Joseph Swain, E. C. Warriner, L. R. Alderman, Frank B. Cooper.

The following is an official statement of the policy and activities of the League during the war:

A few days after the United States declared war on the Imperial German Government, the Secretary of the American School Peace League issued "A Call to Patriotic Service," addressed to the teachers of the United States. This call included the program of the League during the war, which is as follows:

To maintain a civic and moral stability among the youth of the country.
To inspire anew a love of American institutions and American ideals.
To foster civic service appropriate to youth, consciously entered upon for the nation's welfare.
To promote an interchange of good-will regardless of race or nationality.
To teach the value of arbitration, conciliation, and judicial settlement.
To hold to the ideal of the ultimate triumph of democracy.

Early in the autumn of 1917, the Executive Committee of the American School Peace League announced its policy to **cooperate with the President in his aim to safeguard the principle of democracy throughout the world.** In taking this stand, the committee acted in line with the general aim of the League, which has always been to lay the foundation for a durable peace, for which the United States is now fighting. The members of the committee assert that nothing should be done which could not be endorsed by the State Department, and they **pledge their wholehearted support to the Government in this struggle for freedom.**

The League responded to the letter of President Wilson, addressed to School Officers on August 23, 1917, in which the

President appealed for such teaching in the schools as would give "a new appreciation of the problems of national life and a deeper understanding of the meaning and aims of democracy." Under the title, "A Plan to Cooperate with President Wilson in the Project outlined in his Letter to School Officers on August 23, 1917," the League issued the announcement of its Prize Essay Contest to the secondary and normal schools of the country, the subject for the secondary schools being, "How should the World be Organized so as to Prevent Wars in the Future;" and that for the normal schools, "The Teaching of Democracy as a Factor in a League of Nations." In sending out this announcement, the League asked that the essay contest be incorporated into the regular work of the school with the distinct aim of cooperating with the President. Practically every State in the Union is represented in this patriotic work, and many hundreds of schools have introduced this study as an integral part of the school program.

Besides this nation-wide study of the meaning and aims of democracy, the League is engaged in other forms of cooperative service included in its program issued at the beginning of the war.

V. The World Peace Foundation

The World Peace Foundation of Boston, Massachusetts, is a corporation founded by Edwin Ginn in 1910. In the language of its by-laws, its purpose is to educate the people of all nations to a full knowledge of the waste and destructiveness of war, its evil effects on present social conditions and on the well-being of future generations, and to promote international justice and the brotherhood of man; and, generally, by every practical means to promote peace and good will among all mankind. Its officers are: George A. Plimpton, President; Edward Cummings, General Secretary; Denys P. Myers, Corresponding Secretary. Its Board of Trustees is as follows: George A. Plimpton, President; George W. Anderson, George H. Blakeslee, Samuel T. Dutton, Samuel J. Elder, William H. P. Faunce, A. Lawrence Lowell, Samuel W. McCall, Albert E. Pillsbury, Joseph Swain.

This Foundation officially says that:

It will **support the efforts of the United States Government and the Allies to win the war** and set up an international organization which will guarantee permanent peace with justice, and so make the world safe for democracy and civilization.

VI. Women Peace Workers

The following statement, sent to the American Peace Society under date of December 29, 1917, was signed by Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Mrs. David Cheever, Mrs. J. Malcom Forbes, Miss Katharine McDowell Rice, Mrs. John Richardson, Jr. These women are well known workers for world peace, prominent in the Woman's Peace Party, in the Massachusetts Peace Society, and similar organizations. Mrs. Andrews is secretary of the American School Peace League and, as is Mrs. Forbes, a Director of the American Peace Society. The statement reads:

We believe today, what we have always believed, that civilization demands the abolition of the war system, and that men and women can devote themselves to nothing higher than to work for this abolition.

Since the world had not advanced far enough toward world federation to make the present war impossible, we, while holding the above ideal, find ourselves in agreement with the policy that it be fought until the German people are able and willing to make a peace based on the cooperation of law-abiding nations, leaving no possibility of wor d domination by any imperialistic autocracy.

We believe that in taking up arms against the German Government the United States is fighting to dethrone a tyranny that threatens, in the words of the President, "to master and debase men everywhere."

We are convinced that our ultimate goal,—the establishment of a durable peace through international organization,—can now be reached only after the defeat of German might. We recognize the unwavering policy of President Wilson, as shown in his public utterances, to use the instrument of statesmanship whenever and wherever this may contribute to the realization of our purpose in this war. Therefore we believe that those who are working to the end that this shall be the last war, should declare themselves to be loyal to our Government, and should support it in every way possible, in its aim to make the world safe for democracy.

Further, we believe that nothing should be done to obstruct the waging of this war. **We feel that those persons who are continually rebuking the Government for our entrance into it,**

and who are constantly calling at this time for peace, are prolonging the war. We recognize the necessity of a rigid régime during its course, and we are glad to bear a temporary curtailment of our freedom for the ultimate realization of world freedom.

While not relinquishing for a moment the many kinds of war relief activities to which we all are pledged, we feel that the imperative duty of every American is to promote the idea of a League of Nations, and to stimulate the study of the intricate problems which the world will have to face at the Great Settlement. We believe that it is to this vital and far-reaching constructive and educational work, as well as to relief work, that peace organizations should devote themselves during the war.

VII. The Churches

The churches of the United States, irrespective of denomination, are practically a unit in the support of the Government in the prosecution of the war. The following from the American Branch of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches, headquarters 105 East 22d Street, New York City, may be said to be typical of the spirit of American churches generally, Christian and non-Christian:

As the United States enters the Great War, the forces of the nation are mobilizing for the conflict. What is the place of the Church in this hour of crisis and danger? It is to spiritualize the nation; to keep the war a conflict for righteousness, liberty, and democracy; to hearten and encourage the men who go to the front, and their loved ones at home; to build a greater Fellowship of Reconciliation, consisting of millions who while fighting will love their enemies; to wage this war with the determination to make an end of war; to so hate war as to be restrained in its glorification, noble as is this conflict, lest the hold of war upon the imagination of our youth be strengthened; to give itself unstintedly to the relief of the suffering at home and abroad which the war has brought and will yet bring upon the world.

In view of existing world conditions the American Branch of the World Alliance makes the following declaration in regard to the duty resting upon the Church:

The Church of Christ in America should **prove itself the loyal and efficient servant of the nation in this time of testing.** It should bear upon the heart the President and other national leaders and the men in service, ever praying and striving that the cause to which the Nation has dedicated itself may be carried through to high achievement.

The Church in all its branches should humbly and devoutly pray for recovery of the lost consciousness of its essential unity and universality in Christ, establishing in its membership the feeling of a fellowship that transcends the barriers of nation and race. It should be the "light" and the "leaven" of the world, a living bond holding the nations together in righteousness and service.

The Church should build in all its branches throughout Chris-

tendom a world-fellowship of goodwill and reconciliation. It should practice self-sacrificing service in the relief of suffering, earnestly cultivate love of enemies, and stand ready to share in the pressing tasks of reconstruction and rehabilitation when this war is ended.

The Church should teach mankind that God's laws cover the whole of human life, individual, national, and international. It should deepen the desire for national righteousness and truth, unselfishness and brotherliness.

The Church should **add its strength to the movement for establishing right international relations on an enduring basis.** It should vigorously press for a League of Nations, having such features as periodic conferences, a world court, commissions of inquiry, boards of conciliation and arbitration, and adequate administrative agencies, to the end that national sovereignty shall be more properly related to international judgment and opinion.

The Churches of America should **support the policies announced by President Wilson in his reply to the Pope:** "Punitive damages, dismemberment of empires, the establishment of selfish and exclusive economic leagues we deem inexpedient and in the end worse than futile, no proper basis for a peace of any kind, least of all for an enduring peace. That must be based upon justice and fairness and the common rights of mankind."

American Christians have in addition their own special and personal tasks in the relations of America to the Far East. They should strive to secure Federal legislation providing for the adequate protection of aliens, the loyal observance of treaties, the early removal of all causes of irritation, and a fundamental solution of the whole Asiatic problem.

These are the principles and the program by which to secure world justice, goodwill, and enduring peace. All American churches and Christians should take part in establishing these principles and in securing these ends.

The following from the War-Time Message of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, under date of May 8-9, 1917, is a further expression of the Christian position:

Almighty God, Father of men, Ruler and Judge of nations,

have mercy upon us, we pray Thee, and strengthen us as members of the Church of Christ to meet with courage and fidelity the special duties of these times. Give us grace, we beseech Thee:

To purge our own hearts clean of arrogance and selfishness;

To steady and inspire the nation;

To keep ever before the eyes of ourselves and of our Allies the ends for which we fight;

To hold our own nation true to its professed aims of justice, liberty, and brotherhood;

To testify to our fellow-Christians in every land, most of all to those from whom for the time we are estranged, our consciousness of unbroken unity in Christ;

To unite in the fellowship of service multitudes who love their enemies and are ready to join with them in rebuilding the waste places as soon as peace shall come;

To be diligent in works of relief and mercy, not forgetting those ministries to the spirit to which, as Christians, we are especially committed;

To keep alive the spirit of prayer, that in these times of strain and sorrow men may be sustained by the consciousness of the presence and power of God;

To hearten those who go to the front, and to comfort their loved ones at home;

To care for the welfare of our young men in the army and navy, that they may be fortified in character and made strong to resist temptation;

To be vigilant against every attempt to arouse the spirit of vengeance and unjust suspicion toward those of foreign birth or sympathies;

To protect the rights of conscience against every attempt to invade them;

To maintain our Christian institutions and activities unimpaired, to be diligent in the observance of the Lord's Day and in the study of the Holy Scriptures, that the soul of our nation may be nourished and renewed through the worship and service of Almighty God;

To guard the gains of education, of social progress and of economic freedom, won at so great a cost, and to make full use

of the occasion to set them still further forward, even by and through the war;

To keep the open mind and the forward look, that the lessons learned in war may not be forgotten when comes that just and sacred peace for which we pray;

Above all, to call men everywhere to new obedience to the will of our Father God, who in Christ has given Himself in supreme self-sacrifice for the redemption of the world, and who invites us to share with Him His ministry of reconciliation.

We humbly beseech Thee to hear us through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

VIII. Belgian Relief Workers

Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, Chairman of the American Commission for Relief in Belgium, sent the following cablegram to President Wilson on April 3, 1917:

The members of the American Commission for relief in Belgium ask me to transmit to you an expression of united devotion and of our admiration for the courage and wisdom of your leadership. We wish to tell you that there is no word in your historic statement to Congress that does not find a response in all our hearts.

For two and a half years we have been obliged to remain silent witnesses of the character of the forces dominating this war, but we are now at liberty to say that, although we break with great regret our association with many German individuals who have given sympathetic support to our work, yet your message enunciates our conviction, born of our intimate experience and contact that there is no hope, no democracy or liberalism, and consequently no real peace and safety of our country, unless the system which brought the world into this unfathomable misery can be stamped out once for all.

Mr. Vernon Kellogg, who for two years was with the Commission for Relief in Belgium, writes as follows in the *Atlantic Monthly* for August, 1917:

. . . I went into Northern France and Belgium to act as a neutral, and I did act as a neutral all the time I was there. If I learned there anything of military value which could be used against the Germans I shall not reveal it. But I came out no neutral. Also I went in an ardent hater of war and I came out a more ardent one. I have seen that side of the horror and waste and outrage of war which is worse than the side revealed on the battlefield. How I hope for the end of all war!

But I have come out believing that that cannot come until any people which has dedicated itself to the philosophy and practice of war as a means of human advancement is put into a position of impotence to indulge its belief at will. My conviction is that Germany is such a people, and that it can be put into this position only by the result of war itself. It knows no other argument and it will accept no other decision. . . .

IX. Clarence Darrow, of Chicago

Clarence Darrow, lawyer, pacifist, representative of workingmen's interests, author and platform speaker, and formerly member of the Illinois State Legislature, recently delivered an address, published in the *Santa Fe Magazine* for December, 1917, from which the following extracts are taken:

. . . I notice that the pro-Germans in the last few months have changed to pacifists—and a German pacifist makes me smile. I find **the arguments that were once used by German sympathizers are today the arguments of the pacifists.**

We were told that we should be neutral in this great war. For almost three years America was neutral—while the world was burning. For nearly three years we contented ourselves with selling cannon and shot and powder to poor, fighting France. While America was neutral I was one American who was never neutral. I knew which side I was on the day that the German criminal military machine invaded Belgium. I did not stop to think. I only felt. In a great crisis like that I would be ashamed to think. I have never been neutral on anything. No doubt I have often been wrong—but not neutral. And on any great question that involves the rights and liberties of men no one can be so far wrong as to be neutral. If you are a partisan you have at least once chance in two of being right; if you are neutral you have no chance to be right. . . .

Our American pacifists sat neutral while Belgium was invaded, while France was invaded, while the submarines were killing their victims upon the "German ocean," while they were giving their orders to America, a people of one hundred million souls—although I doubted the souls while we were taking orders. But we have found them now, at last, late though it be, and our people will never rest until victory is won. . . .

When I hear a man advising the American people to state the terms of peace, I know he is working for Germany. He may not know it, but I know it. I think that we at least should begin to fight before we tell when we will stop. There is nobody on earth who knows when or where we will stop the war. Where we stop, though, I hope will be in Berlin! . . .

When this war is over we will all know it. When Germany is

fairly beaten we will find it out. She probably won't be repentant, but some day she will be beaten and then we can talk terms of peace, and not until then. . . .

I want to refer to one thing more. Many of my old friends —that is, those who were my friends—and some of my newer friends say, "You are fighting to make democracy safe in the world; you are fighting for liberty on the seas, and you are losing liberty at home."

I want to say a word about that, and I want to say it perfectly truthfully as I see it. I will confess it has given me some alarm, more in the beginning than it does today. I confess that we have interfered with meetings and with papers where we would not have done it had we not been at war, but this means nothing so far as the fundamental purpose, the traditions, and the future of America are concerned.

Let us look at this question carefully. Possibly we could have got along with less of it. I don't know. Those who are charged with the terrible responsibility of running this government know better than I, and the President himself, great and wise as he is, confessed not long ago in an open letter to a publisher who complained, that he didn't know where to draw the line, that he had done the best he could, that he wanted to preserve liberty, but he wanted to preserve the United States and civilization, and he admitted that he may have done it bunglingly. And everyone must admit this, if he thinks of it at all: "I believe in liberty; I believe in the greatest possible freedom of speech and the press; but I know this, that **the rules for war and the rules for peace are not the same and cannot be the same.**"

Our liberty is not really founded in our constitution and in our statutes. These are but the expression of the faith of the people at the time they are made. Real liberty rests in the end in the mind and the hearts of the American people. . . .

I have no fear that after the war is over these liberties will not come back to the people. We have fought too long for them, we have lived under them too long, and there is no danger that the American people will forget.

Just one thing more. I am the last person to claim that everything is right in America. When the pacifists talk with us

about the war they point to the imperfections at home; and there are imperfections here. I have often criticized many of our laws, our institutions, and our customs, and I expect to do it again. This land is not perfect. Nothing is. But, however imperfect, in spite of all that we should do and I hope will do in future years, it is still the best, the greatest, and the freest country on the face of the earth. And even though America is not all we wish it were and all we hope it some time will be, it is our business to preserve what we have and make it better than it is for the generations that are to come after we are gone.

I have no time today to discuss the troubles of America; no time. I will wait until this war is over. I enjoy discussing philosophy, or socialism, or single tax, or even religion. But if I had a neighbor in the house discussing socialism, and somebody told me the house was on fire, I would stop the argument until after I had put out the fire.

Labor and capital must treat each other fairly during this great struggle. They must be considerate of one another, for we are fighting together. But this is not a time to settle theoretical questions or lifelong differences. After the war is over, if need be, we can take them up again. But let me say this: I am not naturally an optimist; I don't know whether this war will be the last or not. It may not be. It has been the most important. I don't know what we may get out of the future. No one can tell what the future has in store for the human race. But I have some faith, and I believe that this world will not be the same world again after this war is done. It will change old ideas and old institutions, and will build up the new. I am willing to await any struggle between capital and labor. It may be that, as we come together, the rich and the poor, all shades of opinion, the Catholic, the Protestant, the free-thinker, all classes of men, as we come together in one great common cause we may know each other better when the war is done.

It may be, and it ought to be, and I hope it will be, that after this war is done capital and labor will understand each other better than they did when the war began, and by working together, looking into each other's eyes, and living together, dying together, helping each other in the greatest effort of the human race, after the rich and the poor and the high and the low have

helped each other in war they may learn the great lesson that, while mutual helpfulness is good in war, it may be equally good in peace. And I have hopes that we shall learn, and that the world will be better after the suffering and the trials and the tribulations have passed, that a better earth will come, for all the blood that has been poured out and enriched it and mellowed it and hallowed it.

X. William Howard Taft

Ex-President William Howard Taft is president of the League to Enforce Peace, and vice-president of the American Peace Society. In an address before the General Conference of the Unitarian and other Christian Churches at Montreal, Canada, September 26, 1917, Mr. Taft said:

. . . **He who proposes peace now either does not see the stake for which the Allies are fighting, or wishes the German military autocracy still to control the destinies of all of us as to peace or war.** Those who favor permanent world peace must oppose with might and main the proposals for peace at this juncture in the war, whether made in socialistic councils, in pro-German conferences, or by Pope Benedict. That the Pontiff of the greatest Christian Church should wish to bring to an end a war in which millions of its communion are on both sides is to be expected. That he should preserve a difficult neutrality is also natural. That his high purpose is to save the world from further suffering goes without saying. But the present is not the opportunity of an intervening peacemaker, who must assume that compromise is possible. The Allies are fighting for a principle the maintenance of which affects the future of civilization. If they do not achieve it they have sacrificed the flower of their youth and mortgaged their future for a century and all for nothing. **This is not a war in which the stake is territory or the sphere of influence of one nation over another. The Allies cannot concede peace until they conquer it.** When they do so, it will be permanent. Otherwise they fail. There are wars like that between Japan and Russia, in which President Roosevelt properly and successfully intervened to bring about a peace, and helped the parties to a settlement. The principle at stake and the power and territory were of such a character that a settlement might be made substantially permanent. But the present issue is like that in our Civil War, which was whether the Union was to be preserved and the cancer of slavery to be cut out. Peace proposals to President Lincoln were quite as numerous as those of today, and were moved by quite as high motives. But there was no compromise possible. Either slavery and disunion won or lost. **So today the great moral object of the war must be achieved or defeated.** . . .

President Wilson says the Allies are fighting to make the world safe for democracy. Some misconception has been created on this head. The Allies are not struggling to force a particular form of government on Germany. If the German people continue to wish an Emperor, it is not the purpose of the Allies to require them to have a republic. Their purpose is to end the military policy and foreign policy of Germany that looks to the maintenance of a military and naval machine with its hair-trigger preparation for use against her neighbors. If this continues, it will entail on every democratic government the duty of maintaining a similar armament in self-defense or, what is more likely, the duty will be wholly or partly neglected. Thus the policy of Germany, with her purpose and destiny, will threaten every democracy. This is the condition which it is the determined purpose of the Allies, as interpreted by President Wilson, to change.

How is the change to be effected? By defeating Germany in this war. The German people have been very loyal to their Emperor because his leadership accords with the false philosophy of the State and German destiny with which they have been indoctrinated and poisoned. A defeat of the military machine, a defeat of the Frankenstein of the military dynasty, to which they have been sacrificed, must open their eyes to the hideous futility of their political course. The German Government will then be changed as its people will have it changed, to avoid a recurrence of such a tragedy as they have deliberately prepared for themselves.

Men who see clearly the kind of peace which we must have, in order to be a real and lasting peace, can have no sympathy therefore with a patched-up peace, one made at a council table, the result of diplomatic chaffering and bargaining. **Men who look forward to a League of the World to Enforce Peace in the future can have no patience with a compromise that leaves the promoting cause of the present awful war unaffected and unremoved.** This war is now being fought by the Allies as a League to Enforce Peace. Unless they compel it by victory, they do not enforce it. They do not make the military autocracies of the world into nations fit for a World League, unless they convince them by a lesson of defeat.

And now what of the United States? When the war came on, there were a few in the United States who felt that the invasion of Belgium required a protest on the part of our Government, and some indeed who felt that we should join in the war at once, but the great body of the American people, influenced by our traditional policy of avoiding European quarrels, stood by the Administration in desiring to maintain a strict neutrality. I think it is not unfair to say that a very large proportion of the intelligent and thinking people of the United States—and that means a majority—sympathized with the Allies in the struggle which they were making.

But many with us of German descent, prompted by a pride in the notable advance in the world of German enterprise, German ingenuity, German discipline, German efficiency, and regarding the struggle as an issue between Teuton and Slav, extended their sympathy to their Fatherland. As conscientiously as possible the Administration and the country pursued the course laid down by international law as that which a neutral should take. International law is the rule of conduct of nations toward one another, accepted and acquiesced in by all nations. It is not always as definite as one would like, and the acquiescence of all nations is not always as clearly established as it ought to be. But in the law of war as to capture at sea of commercial vessels, the principles have been established clearly by the decision of prize courts of all nations, English, American, Prussian, and French. The right of non-combatants on commercial vessels, officers, crew, and passengers, either enemy or neutral, to be secure from danger of life has always been recognized and never contested. Nevertheless, Germany sank without warning 150 American citizens, men, women and children, and sent them to their death by a submarine torpedo, simply because they happened to be on English or American commercial vessels. We protested and Germany halted for a time. We thought that if we condoned the death of 150, we might still maintain peace with that power. But it was not to be, and after more than a year Germany announced her purpose to resume this murderous and illegal course toward innocent Americans. Had we hesitated, we would have lost our independence as a people. We would have subscribed abjectly to the doctrine that might makes

right. Germany left no door open to us as a self-respecting nation except that which led to war. She deliberately forced us into the ranks of her enemies, and she did it because she was obsessed with the belief that the submarine was the instrument of destruction by which she might win the war. She recked not that, as she used it, it was a weapon of murder of innocents. Making military efficiency her god, and exalting the appliances of science in the killing of men, she ignored all other consequences.

Germany's use of the submarine brought us into the war. But being in, we recognize as fully as any of the Allies do its far greater issue to be whether German militarism shall continue after this war to be a threat to the peace of the world, or whether we shall end that threat by this struggle in which we are to spend our life's blood. We must not therefore be turned from the stern necessity of winning this war.

When the war began and its horrible character was soon disclosed, there were many religious persons who found their faith in God shaken by the fact that millions of innocent persons could be headed into this vortex of blood and destruction without the saving intervention of their Creator. But the progress of the war has revealed much, and it has stimulated our just historic sense. It shows what the world has become, through the initiative of Germany and the following on of the other nations, afflicted with the cancer of militarism. God reveals the greatness of His power and His omnipotence not by fortuitous and sporadic intervention, but by the working out of His inexorable law. A cancer if it is not to consume the body must be cut out, and the cutting of it necessarily involves suffering and pain in the body. The sacrifices of lives and treasure are inevitable in the working out of the cure of the World Malady. But we must win the war to vindicate this view.

We are now able to see the Providential punishment and weakness that follows the violation of moral law. The crass materialism of the German philosophy that exalts force above morality, power above honor and decency, success above humanity, has blinded the German ruling caste to the strength of moral motives that control other peoples, and involved them in the fundamental mistakes that will cause their downfall. They assumed that England, burdened with Ireland, would violate

her own obligation and abandon Belgium and would leave her Ally France to be deprived of all her colonial possessions. They assumed that France was decadent, permeated with socialism, and unable to make a contest in her state of unpreparedness. They assumed that England's colonies, attached only by the lightest tie, and entirely independent if they chose to be, would not sacrifice themselves to help the mother land in her struggle. How false the German conclusion as to England's national conscience and fighting power, as to France's decadence and patriotic fervor and strength, and as to the filial loyalty of England's daughters! And now, at the crisis of the war, when the victory must abide the weight of wealth, resources, food, equipment, and fighting men, the German military dynasty, contemptuous of a peace-loving people, brings into the contest a nation fresh in its strength, which can furnish more money, more food, and more fighting men, if need be, than any other nation in the world.

But we are at a danger point. England and France and Russia since 1914 have been fighting the battle of the world, and fighting for us of America. The three years or more of war have drained their vitality, strained their credit, exhausted their man-power, subjected many of their non-combatants to suffering and destruction, and they have the war-weariness which dulls the earlier eager enthusiasm for the principles at stake. Now specious proposals for peace are likely to be most alluring to the faint-hearted, and most powerful in the hands of traitors. Russia rid of the Czar is torn with dissensions, and the extreme socialists and impractical theorists, blind to the ultimate destruction of their hopes that a loss of this war will entail, are many of them turning to a separate peace.

The intervention of the United States by her financial aid has helped much, but her armies are needed, and she, a republic unprepared, must have time to prepare. The war is now to be determined by the active tenacity of purpose of the contestants. England showed that tenacity in the wars of Napoleon. Napoleon succumbed. General Grant in his memoirs says that the battle is won not in the first day, but by the commander and the army that is ready, even after apparent defeat, to begin the next day. It is the side that has the nerve that

will win. The intervention of the United States has strengthened that nerve in England, France, and Italy. But delay and disappointment give full opportunity to the lethargic, the cowardly, the factionalist to make the task of the patriot and the loyal men doubly heavy. This is the temper of the situation among the European Allies.

With us at home the great body of our people are loyal and strong for the war. Of course a people, however intelligent, when very prosperous and comfortable, and not well advised as to the vital concern that they have in the issue of a war across a wide ocean and thousands of miles away,—it takes time to convince. But we have, for the first time in the history of our Republic, begun a war right. We have begun with a conscription law, which requires service from men of a certain age from every walk of life. It is democratic in principle, and yet it offers to the Government the means of selection so that those who shall be sent to the front may be best fitted to represent the nation there, and those best able to do the work in the fields and factory essential to our winning at the front may be retained. We have adopted a merit system of selecting from the intelligent and educated youth of the country the company officers of an army of a million and a half or two million that we are now preparing. The machinery of the draft naturally has creaked some because it had to be so hastily constructed, but on the whole it has worked well. Those who devised it and have carried it through are entitled to great credit. The lessons of the three years of the war are being learned and applied in our war equipment and in neutralizing, by new construction, the submarine destruction of commercial transports. Adequate measures for the raising of the money needed to finance our Allies have been carried through Congress or are so near enactment as to be practically on the statute book. Food conservation is provided for. But of course it takes time for a hundred million of peace lovers and non-militarists to get ready, however apt, however patriotic, however determined. It is in the period of the year before the United States can begin to fight that the strain is to come in Europe. But Germany is stopped on the Western and Italian fronts. The winter coming will be harder on her than on the Allies. "It is dogged that does it." Stamp

on all proposals of peace as ill advised or seditious, and then time will make for our certain victory.

While there has been pro-German sentiment in the United States, and while the paid emissaries of Germany have been busy trying to create as much opposition to the war as possible, and have found a number of weak dupes and unintelligent persons who don't understand the importance of the war, to aid them, our Allies should know that the whole body of the American people will earnestly support the President and Congress in carrying out the measures which have been adopted by the United States to win this war.

When the war is won, the United States will wish to be heard and will have a right to be heard as to the terms of peace—not one of material conquest. It is a moral victory the world should win. I think I do not mistake the current of public sentiment throughout our entire country, in saying that our people will favor an international agreement by which the peace brought about through such blood and suffering and destruction and enormous sacrifices shall be preserved by the joint power of the world. Whether the terms of the League to Enforce Peace as they are will be taken as a basis for agreement, or a modified form, something of the kind must be attempted. Meantime, let us hope and pray that all the Allies will reject all proposals for settlement and compromise and adhere rigidly and religiously to the principle that, until a victorious result gives security that the world shall not be again drenched in blood through the insanely selfish policy of a military caste of a nation ruling a deluded people intoxicated with material success and power, there will be no peace.

XI. William Jennings Bryan

Mr. Bryan's views upon the general questions of war and peace are too familiar to need a restatement here. His position relative to our present situation leaves no doubt in the mind of any one interested to know. In *The Commoner*, for August, 1917, Mr. Bryan wrote:

RESISTING THE DRAFT

The number of those resisting the draft is, fortunately, very few: there should be none. Some are conscientiously opposed to war—any war—and may prefer to submit to any punishment the Government sees fit to inflict rather than to take up arms, but even such cannot justify resistance or the giving of encouragement to those who do resist. Still less can tolerance be shown to those who, while opposing conscription, attempt to *draft* others to join them in opposing conscription. War is a last resort—it is a reflection upon civilization that it still reddens the earth—but so long as nations go to war the citizen cannot escape a citizen's duty. If his conscience forbids him to do what his Government demands, he must submit without complaint to any punishment inflicted, whether the punishment be imprisonment or death.

This is the best government on earth—the one most responsive to the will of the people, but it is a government of the people—not of one or a few men. If a few are permitted to resist a law—any law—because they do not like it, government becomes a farce. The law must be enforced—resistance is anarchy.

In the same number we also read:

ABUSING FREE SPEECH

Before our Nation enters a war it is perfectly proper to discuss the wisdom of going to war, but the discussion is closed when Congress acts. After that, **no one should be permitted to cloak attacks upon his Government or aid to the enemy under the claim that he is exercising freedom of speech.** No sympathy, therefore, will be wasted upon those who have been arrested for unpatriotic utterances. They abuse free speech. And **this applies to attacks on the Allies as well as to attacks upon the**

United States. We can no more allow our Allies to be crushed than we can afford to be crushed ourselves. The defeat of our Allies would throw the whole burden of the war upon us. We must stand together and fight it through. There are only two sides to a war—every American must be on the side of the United States.

Again:

WRITE TO WASHINGTON

Unity throughout the Nation is imperatively necessary during the war—dissension would be disastrous, we must win—and division among us would only prolong the war and increase its cost. Those who advised against entering the war should be even more anxious for peace than those who advised entrance into the war—and **the shortest road to peace is the road straight ahead.**

But this does not mean that the citizen shall cease to think or to have opinions. Neither does it mean that he shall not express himself, if he expresses himself in such a way as to aid his own country and not the enemy. Ours is a representative government, a government in which the people rule through representatives. The President, no less than Congress, is a servant of the people. He is elected by the people, and the authority conferred upon him is conferred by the constitution—the people speaking through their organic law. The people are supreme. That is what democracy means—a government in which the people rule.

In the same paper for September, 1917, Mr. Bryan said:

STAND BY THE GOVERNMENT

The constitution—our organic law—vests in Congress the right to declare war—and Congress has declared a state of war to exist.

The constitution makes the President commander-in-chief of the army and the navy, and the President is directing the war on land and sea.

The constitution gives to Congress the right to levy taxes and to borrow money, and Congress is doing both.

The President and Congress were elected by the people and are responsible to the people; they speak for the people—the people have no other spokesmen. Acquiescence in the will of the people, expressed through their authorized representatives, is "the first law of the Republic." There is no alternative but anarchy. **Before the Government acts, discussion is proper; after action, obedience is a duty.**

Again, in the October number, Mr. Bryan expressed himself thus:

With the citizen the question of duty is sometimes more important than the question of rights. The vital question is not what he can do but what he ought to do. The legislator must discuss questions before Congress—this is necessary to intelligent action by Congress, but this necessity does not confront the citizen in private life. There is no reason why anyone should discuss that which has been done—**when final action is taken, acquiescence on the part of the citizen becomes a duty.**

In the case of proposed legislation, it is better that the citizen should communicate directly with those empowered to act—the President, senators and congressmen—than to speak through the press, on the platform, or on the street. If one is really anxious to serve his country, he will choose the method of expression that promises the maximum of good and the minimum of risk of doing his country harm. Patriotism requires some to give their lives; it requires others to give their money; it may require some to hold their peace rather than risk creating dissension or discord by public expression of opinion when such expression is unnecessary.

Finally, in the issue for December, 1917, above Mr. Bryan's signature, we read:

A POWERFUL DOCUMENT

In this issue will be found the full text of the President's annual message. It is a powerful document. While the request for a declaration of war against Austria will command immediate attention and action, the parts which are most vital and far-reaching are the appeal to the German people and the reference to the Russian situation. The argument addressed to the

masses whom the Kaiser is using to forward his ambitious plans ought to be translated into the German language and distributed by airships. If the assurance given does not stir revolt against autocratic authority, the people must be strangely blind to their own welfare.

The President is patient with Russia and hopeful that her people now freed from despotism will yet use their power to check the land-hunger of Germany's militarists. **It is the clearest statement yet made of the terms of peace and ought to make a profound impression on the world.**

XII. Theodore Marburg, of Baltimore

United States Minister to Belgium, 1912-13, President of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, 1915, prominent among the organizers of the League to Enforce Peace, Mr. Theodore Marburg's views relative to the present war are significant. In *The Humanitarian* for December, 1917, he writes:

Can we afford to shake hands with the unholy thing—dripping with blood of innocents—known as Germany?

Can we afford to make a pact with a deliberate violator of law, human and divine?

What semblance of reality would attach to sitting at the council table with a creature false to its express and solemn promise—its promise not to violate Belgium? What value would lie in an agreement with such a State?

In the intercourse of men, certain things are taken for granted: that they will keep their word, that they will respect the law, that they will observe the common dictates of humanity, that they will act as gentlemen. When they fail us in any of these fundamentals, the situation becomes impossible.

What of a Nation that fails in all of them? A league of nations which should include a State motived as Germany is motived today would be a rope of sand. Intellectual honesty —honesty to one's self—is a highly important quality. Nations making a compact with a perjured Germany would not be honest to themselves. For they would know that she could not be counted upon to keep her word. When confidence in the good intentions of the neighbor is destroyed, we have feud, not society. A league composed of nations which lacked confidence in one another would be shadow, not substance. From the very beginning it would move in a false atmosphere. Who can doubt the result?

And what of a league from which Germany and her allies were left out?

For the period of the war, yes! Organization of the Allies into a working league now would be of incalculable advantage. It should be formed at once; is, in fact, already in being, so far as relates to community of aims and loose cooperation, though to accomplish its tremendous task it needs close cooperation.

It is urged that if a league is formed now by the Allies it will be looked upon by Germany after the war as directed against her interests and therefore less likely to win her approval and adhesion. On the other hand it has been pointed out that permanent unions, such as the American Union, are born of the needs of the day, that the Allies need now the machinery which will make their cooperation effective, and that we are therefore likely to encounter less opposition among them to the formation of a working league now than if we wait until this pressure of necessity has passed. Two considerations may be advanced in this connection:

1. It will be far more difficult to set up an effective and enduring league if Germany wins the war; and the able organization of the Allies in a working league now will help prevent this catastrophe.
2. If Germany is regenerated it will be by reason of the fact that she has recognized in her present leaders the real enemies of the German State and people.

Just as the new France, which followed the fall of Napoleon, was soon accepted by the European world as an entirely friendly Power, and in its turn harbored no animosity against the coalition which had overthrown Napoleon, so, it is to be presumed, the new Germany will sit as a friend at the council table of Europe and of the world, enjoying the friendship of, and entertaining friendly feelings for, her sister nations.

But in order to succeed after the war, a league which plans the use of force in any contingencies whatsoever must embrace all or nearly all the Great Powers. Less than this would constitute but little advance on the present system of opposing alliances. It might postpone war, as did the existence of the Entente and the Triple Alliance. But, like them, it would run the risk of making war universal if it did come. . . .

XIII. Samuel Gompers

As president of the American Federation of Labor for thirty-five years and editor of its official magazine *The Federationist*, Samuel Gompers is the most widely known and representative leader of organized labor in America. He was elected president of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy upon the formation of that organization at Minneapolis, September 5 to 7, 1917. The following extracts are from the address which he delivered on accepting that office:

I have counted myself happy in the companionship of the men and women who called themselves pacifists. There was not a State or national or international peace society of which I was not a member, and in many instances an officer. As a trade unionist, with its practices and its philosophies, I have been in happy accord with our movement for international peace.

At a great gathering in Faneuil Hall, Boston, some years ago, I gave utterance to my soul's conviction that the time had come when great international wars had been put to an end, and I expressed the opinion that in the last analysis, if those who are the profit-mongers by "war" undertook to create a war, the working people of the countries of the world would stop work simultaneously, if necessary, in order to prevent international war. . . .

. . . I was sent as a delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the International Congress of Labor in 1909, held at Paris, France, and there at that conference, incidental to it, there was arranged one of the greatest mass-meetings I have ever attended, at which the representatives of the labor movement of each country declared that there would not be another international war.

And I went home, happy in the further proof that the time of universal peace had come. And I attended more peace conferences. I was still firmly persuaded that the time had come, and until 1914 I was in that Fool's Paradise. I doubt if there were many who were so thoroughly shocked to the innermost depths of their being as I was with the breaking out of the European War. But it had come! And as it went on, ruthlessly, we saw a terrific conflict in which the dominating spirit

was that the people attacked must be subjugated to the will of the great autocrat of his time regardless of how our sympathies ran, and that men who had given the best years of their lives in the effort to find some means, some secret of science or of nature, so that the slighest ill or pain of the most insignificant of the race might be assuaged, turned to purposes of destruction. At the call of this autocrat, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Germany, men were set at attack, and we found that these very men were clutching at each other's throats and seeking each other's destruction. . . .

The United States has declared that she can no longer live in safety when there is stalking throughout the earth this thunderous machine of murder. The United States authoritatively has declared that peace is desirable and should be brought about, but that peace is impossible so long as life and liberty are challenged and menaced. The Republic of the United States has cast her lot with the Allied countries fighting against the greatest military machine ever erected in the history of the world. . . .

I am made ill when I see or hear anyone suffering the slightest pain or anguish, and yet I hold that it is essential that the sacrifice must be made that humanity shall never again be cursed by a war such as the one which has been thrust upon us.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION

(Established by Order of the President, April 14, 1917)

Your Government is willing to send you WITHOUT CHARGE (except as noted) any TWO of the Pamphlets listed below.

I. RED WHITE AND BLUE SERIES

1. How the War Came to America.

Contents: Developments of our policy reviewed and explained from August, 1914, to April, 1917. Appendix: the President's address to the Senate, January 22, 1917; his War Message to Congress, April 2, 1917; his Flag Day address at Washington, June 14, 1917. 32 pages. (Translations into German, Polish, Bohemian, Italian, Spanish, Swedish, Portuguese, Croatian and Yiddish. 48 pages.)

2. National Service Handbook. *(Price 15 cents.)*

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